1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

237 thoſe made of timber, in that they are much lighter and go
262 ſwifter. Of the ſeals' fat both *Ruſſians* and *Kamtſchadales* make
— candles; and beſides the natives eſteem it ſuch a delicacy that
251 they can have no feaſt without it. The fleſh they boil or dry in the ſun; but if there are great quantities, they ſmoke or bake it in the following manner: They dig a large pit in proportion to the quantity of fleſh or fat, and pave the bottom with ſtones. Then they fill it with wood and light it below, continuing to add fuel until it be as hot as any oven. After which they take out all the aſhes, then lay at the bottom a layer of green poplar wood, upon this another of ſeals' fleſh or fat, each ſeparately; and thus alternately wood and fleſh until the pit be quite full. They then cover it with graſs and earth, to keep in the heat; and after ſome hours they uncover it, take out the fat and fleſh, and lay it up for the winter. Both fleſh and fat thus prepared is much more delicate than what is boiled; beſides, it keeps without ſpoiling for a whole year.

825 When they have picked all the fleſh from the heads of the
796 ſeals they ſhew them all the reſpect that they would to a particular friend that viſits them. I ſaw this ceremony in the
782 year 1740 at the little fort of *Krodakigbe*, which ſtands upon a river of the ſame name that falls into the Eaſtern Ocean. It was performed in the following manner: They brought in the ſkull or head of a ſeal, bound round with the ſweet graſs, and placed it upon the floor. Then a *Kamtſchadale* entered with a bag filled with the ſweet herbs and others, particularly a good deal of birch bark, and placed it near the head; upon which two other *Kamtſchadales* rolled in a great ſtone, and ſet it oppoſite to the entry of the hut, about which they laid ſeveral ſtones; and two others tore the ſweet herb, and made it into ſmall bunches. The great ſtone was to ſignify the ſea, the ſmaller the waves, and the bunches of the ſweet herb the ſeals. This being done, they took three diſhes of caviar mixed with kipre, hurtleberries, and ſeals'

fat

fat. This they ſqueezed into balls, in the middle of which they preſſed the ſweet herbs which were made to repreſent the ſeals: out of the birch bark they made little boats, which they filled with theſe balls made as above, and covered them with herbs. 825 796 782

After ſome time they took theſe boats and balls and toſſed them to and fro over the ſtones as if over waves, that the other ſeals might ſee with what reſpect the *Kamtſchadales* treated their friends, and conſequently might the more willingly fall into their hands. After this they placed the ſeals made of the ſweet herbs near to the great ſtone, or ſea, and all went out of the hut; but one old man, after he had ſet upon the threſhold a ſmall diſh with their broth which he had carried behind them, entered into it again, all the aſſiſtants crying aloud four times the word *Lignouleghe*. They could not tell what this term meant; nor could they give any other reaſon for their ſo crying out, but that their fathers did ſo. After this they again rolled the birch boats upon the ſtones; and going again out of the hut cried, as before, *Kouneouſhite aloulaighe*; that is, May the wind blow towards the ſhore. For while this wind blows a great deal of ice is driven towards the land, which is favourable for their killing the ſea animals. Returning into their huts, they rolled their birch boats a third time over the ſtones. They then put the ſkulls of the ſeals into a bag, and every fiſher preſent put in alſo a little of the ſweet graſs, with his name and ſome particular ſentence; that the ſeals might know how they had entertained them, and what valuable preſents they had made them.

Having, as they thought, by their entertainment and preſents, ſhewn all reſpects to their gueſts, they brought them out to the ſtair-head, where an old man put ſtill ſome more of their gruel into the bag, deſiring them to carry that to their friends that had been drowned at ſea. Then two *Kamtſchadales* who had been principally employed in this entertainment, took the bowls that were

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825 were filled with gruel and the ſeals made of graſs, and gave one
796 to each fiſher. They then went all out of the hut, and cried
782 *Uenic*; a word they uſe in calling to one another when they go to kill the ſeals or other ſea animals. Then taking out the ſeals made of graſs they threw them into the fire, praying them to make them frequent viſits; after which, returning into the hut, they put out the fire, and eat the gruel that was in the bowls.

136 The ſea horſe is but ſeldom ſeen about *Kamtſchatka*, and then only in the moſt northernly places. The moſt are caught near the cape of *Tchukotſkoi*, being both larger and more numerous there than any where elſe. Their teeth are what we commonly call fiſh-bone, the price of which depends upon their largeneſs or weight: the deareſt are thoſe that are about twenty pounds; but theſe are ſeldom met with, or even ſuch as weigh ten or twelve pounds, the common weight being five or ſix pounds.

The ſea lion * and cat, in their uſual ſtructure, differ very little from the ſea horſe and ſea calf, and are therefore to be reckoned of the ſame kind.

Some call the ſea lions ſea horſes, becauſe they have manes. In their ſhape they are like the ſea calf; and their necks are bare, excepting a ſmall mane of hard curled hairs: the reſt of their body is covered with a cheſnut-coloured hair. They have a middle-ſized head, ſhort ears, a ſnout ſhort and drawn up like a pug dog's, great teeth, and webbed feet. They are found moſt frequently about rocky ſhores or rocks in the ſea, upon which they climb very high, in great numbers. They roar in a ſtrange, frightful manner, much louder than the ſea calf; and they are thus far of uſe to people at ſea, that in foggy weather, by their roaring, they warn them of rocks or iſlands being near, as few rocks or iſlands in this part of the world are without theſe animals.

* Leo marinus. STELLER.

Although

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

CHAP. XII.

Of their SHAMANS, *or Conjurers.*

THE *Kamtſchadales* have none who are profeſſed *Shamans*, or conjurers, as the neighbouring nations have; but every old woman is looked upon as a witch and an interpreter of dreams. In their conjurations they whiſper upon the fins of fiſhes, the ſweet graſs, and ſome other things; by which means they cure diſeaſes, divert misfortunes, and foretel futurity.

They are very great obſervers of dreams, which they relate to one another as ſoon as they awake in the morning, and judge from thence of their future good or bad fortune; and ſome of theſe dreams have their interpretation fixed and ſettled. Beſides this conjuration they pretend to chiromancy, and to foretel a man's good or bad fortune by the lines of his hand; but the rules which they follow are kept a great ſecret.

CHAP. XIII.

Of their CEREMONIES.

THE *Kamtſchadales* always celebrated three days in the month of *November*, which is hence called the month of Purification. *Steller* imagines, that this was firſt inſtituted by their anceſtors to return thanks to God for all his bleſſings; but that afterwards, through the ſtupidity of theſe people,

1: Krasheninnikov N-5 (1736-40) 1764 Kamchadal

people, it has been perverted by fooliſh and ridiculous ceremonies; and this appears the more probable, becauſe that, after their ſummer or harveſt labour is over, they look upon it as a ſin to do any work, or make any viſits, before this holiday, which if any one neglects he is obliged to expiate it at that time, if not before. From hence we may ſee that the anceſtors of this people were accuſtomed to offer up the firſt fruits of their ſummer labours to God, and to make merry with one another. The northern and ſouthern *Kamtſchadales* have different ceremonies in the celebration of their holidays, which are extremely ſilly, and conſiſt of many ridiculous anticks. I ſhall give a ſlight ſketch of one of theſe aſſemblies in the ſouthern *Kamtſchatka*.

After many ſtrange ceremonies they introduce a little bird and a fiſh, which they roaſt upon the coals, and divide amongſt them, when every one throws his ſhare into the fire as a ſacrifice, or an offering, to thoſe ſpirits which come to their feaſts; then they boil dried fiſh, the broth of which they pour out before their image, and eat the fiſh themſelves; and then take the birch-tree out of the hut, and carrying it to their magazines, lay it up there to be kept for the whole year. Thus ends the feſtival.

CHAP. XIV.

Of their FEASTS *and* DIVERSIONS.

THEY make feaſts when one village entertains another, either upon the account of a wedding, or having had a plentiful fiſhing or hunting. The landlords entertain their gueſts with great bowls of opanga, 'till they are all ſet a vomiting;

6:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY3 Kamchadal RY3

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Village, 18th-century engraving.

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At the time of the first Russian acquaintance with Kamchatka the Itel'mens maintained a primitive-communal order. "Until its subjection to Russian rule," wrote Krasheninnikov, "this wild people lived in a state of complete freedom; it had no masters, was subjected to no laws, and paid tribute to no one. Old and courageous people had superior position in every ostrozhka, but this meant only that their advice was hearkened to. Generally, there was equality among them, no one could issue commands to anyone else, and no one had the right to mete out punishment on his own to anyone." Every village was inhabited by members of one clan. The semidugout housed several related families; the number of its inhabitants sometimes was as high as 100. They were bound by collective production and consumption. The custom of vendetta prevailed.

The woman held a high position in family and social life. Many features of matriarchy persisted in the Itel'men social system. These included the husband's moving into the wife's home, or at least temporary residence in the father-in-law's house; marriage by working for the bride, which involved the groom's moving to her home and performing various tasks. But the matriarchal organization was already in a state of disintegration in the beginning of the 18th century. Constant wars among individual clans and with neighboring peoples, waged for the sake of seizing women and captives, who were partially turned into slaves, intensified this process. The arrival of Russians in Kamchatka led to rapid changes in the economy and life of the Itel'mens.

The religious notions of the Itel'mens, according to 18th-century explorers, and primarily Krasheninnikov, had many elements in common with the beliefs of the Koryaks and Chukchi. These included the idea of the raven-creator, rituals and celebrations connected with the annual economic cycle, whale, bear and other ceremonials, consisting of "treating" and "giving gifts" to the animals killed in the hunt. The most important of these was the fall festival, ending in "purification"—passing through hoops of birch twigs. The Itel'mens believed in evil mountain and forest